Caranga:-
Chipaya

/111 cont./

Forward

[12] [101] [119] In the following pages I propose to set forth the observations that I have been able to make on the social organization, religion, and material life of the Uro-Čipaya /Uru-Chipaya/ Indians among whom I lived in the course of an expedition carried out on the Bolivian Altiplano during the summers of 1930 and 1931. I had [123] singular luck during my entire stay. I happened to be there at the very moment when these Indians have most of their festivals, and luck having enabled me to be present at the first one, the Čipaya, convinced of my respectful sentiments and enchanted by my distributing coca and alcohol, were not afraid to take me /112/ [124] to the following ones. I was aided in my investigation by an Aymara interpreter whom I had brought with me from Oruro and who displayed a zeal which I would never have expected from a member of his race. He served continually /Map 1 appears here/ as intermediary for me with the Čipaya and began conducting inquiries on his own, the results of which he communicated to me. Without him it would have been very difficult for me to discover the meaning of the prayers and sacred formulas which I gathered. [69] Although the Čipaya all speak Aymara fluently they know very little Spanish. Those who do gabble it /113/ are neither the most gifted nor the best informed on things of the past, and I would have had pitiful informants in them.

[21] A still longer period of contact with the Čipaya would hardly, I fear, have brought me new facts. When I left these Indians they had celebrated before me practically the entire cycle of their main festivals, and in order to participate in the next one I would [183] have had to wait nearly six months. Their ritual is in any case very scanty: all the ceremonies, no matter what the subject, unfold according to a plan which is always the same. As for actual religious beliefs, I strongly doubt that a closer intimacy with these [98] Indians would have brought me new discoveries. We should not forget that the Čipaya number only a handful, that they have been

[Text continues on P. 5]

2:Métraux--5 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

/113 cont./

Christian for at least 300 years, and that they are today in a truly sad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissembling, for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously. Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My documents have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of maĭ'ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); $\underline{\overset{\vee}{c}}$ corresponds to the Spanish "ch," $\underline{\hat{y}}$ to the French "ch," $\underline{\overset{\vee}{j}}$ is an affricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and $\underline{l'}$ is the "ll" of the same language. The combined sign $\underline{k^x}$ is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel $\underline{e}$ is a very open e close to a closed $\underline{a}$.

2.Métraux--10 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 1924 Uru 1924

Caranga:-
Chipaya

/115 cont./

number at 500 individuals in 1894. As this archaeologist did not go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Carangas desert, was ever more numerous.

The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion: Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayi'u, numbers 169 inhabitants (58 at Warta ayi'u and 111 at Tuanta properly so called), and Taxata 151. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 350 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ayi'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Taxata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (87 men to 63 women) is such that I can only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who gave me the list of people in this "moiety" did so reluctantly and very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that this operation inspired in all the Čipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population. The Čipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

Chapaya

Aymara and Kolla (Quechua) communities, outside the monogamous moieties, for [illegible] of practices of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two practically independent units, without any other use than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions that, of recent creation, the corregidor.

An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form on the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two [illegible] inflamed by alcohol. These combats are considered a necessary complement of the merry-making. Battles between the two parts of Chapaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at exceptional time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to fight each other in front of strangers and so there should be no deplorable incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two [illegible] ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan they are only rarely mingled.

When they are talking to a stranger the Chapaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and urin-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuyara and uran-saya, taxiri. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxiri is derived from the root [illegible] and simply indicate that these two sections are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about their social organization the Chapaya called these two sections [illegible] and [illegible]. If we were to take our information literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

Dahomey--Do F-5 (1891-1911) 1895, 1896 NFSA Lim NFSA
Cavagnac
Chipeya

/126 cont./

Social Organization

Exercise of authority. Each race is under the authority of an akiaiden who exercises the functions of a justice of the peace. He intervenes in disputes, arrests and imprisons the guilty, and receives accusations. As we have just seen, the akiaiden remain at the division of arable land but he is seldom responsible for directing work done in common, such as the upkeep of canals or the repairing of roads.

The caravan represents the tribe before the government. The one for Chipeya, my friend Paulino Konjori, was so little convinced of the legitimacy of his office, very recently created, that he accompanied me on my return to be presented to the prefect of the department and to obtain from him permission to consider the territory of Chipeya as administrative district independent of Ouachacalla. By one of those curious reminiscences of the Indian character, he did not wait for me at Oruro, where he had preceded me, and I was not able to support his efforts to bring this administrative revolution to a successful conclusion. As long as his title has not been recognized by the government, the caravan of Chipeya will continue to be subordinate to the one at Ouachacalla. During my stay I had the chance to read the letters which his superior sent him and which were often conceived in a commissary tone. I remember that once he was ordered to have his akiaiden arrest a recalcitrant debtor and another time to conduct to Ouachacalla an Indian suspected, mistakenly moreover, of murder.

Paulino Konjori appeared to have some judiciary functions, for the Chipeya made allusion before me to "demandes," i.e. complaints which had been presented to him by Indians who had been injured or believed themselves to have been. It was to him that the Chipeya came to impart their misgivings about my unusual activities and my mysterious investigations. I was lodged in his own hut, which instead of being round like the others had a rectangular plan and a two pitch roof. This form, seen in two or three

Carangas-
Chipaya

The Cipaya Indians of Carangas have been so deeply impregnated with the influence of the Aymara Indians that we may presume that, in the sphere of medicine, they are hardly distinguishable from their neighbors of the altiplano. It is completely impossible if their knowledge is more rudimentary because of their isolation and the difficulty which they experience in obtaining the medical substances, almost all of which come from the Yungas. I was able to convince myself of this by examining one day a bag of medicine which had been left by a deceased Cipaya, the father of a young Indian with whom I had a friendly relationship. In the legacy of the old man I found several pharmaceutical products which I had obtained in the Oruro market. The deceased possessed small amounts of them which he had carefully wrapped in some small rags. His son refused to sell them to me, allegedly because of their great value and the difficulty of procuring them. I doubt, however, that anyone in Chipaya could have benefited from them, for, to my knowledge at least, there is no Indian in this village who possesses sufficient skill to carry out their application.

Practically every day in the hut which I was occupying I received visits from Indians coming to ask me for remedies for various ills. The most frequent was constipation, which seems to frighten the Cipaya very much. I was also able to see a hernia and a terrible infection which the Indians treated by applying a piece of llama heart to the abscess. The Indians often called upon me to care for swellings, the result of drubbings which they had not spared themselves in their domestic quarrels. Some also came to beg me to cure them of impotence. In some not very serious cases of swellings or localized pains, the Indians content themselves with sticking a coca leaf on the skin.

At present the empirical medicine of the Cipaya seems to be limited to a certain number of insignificant recipes, frequently and easily applied. Faced with a serious case they have recourse to complicated magical processes which I had the good fortune to observe. I should not be able to say, however, if the exceptional

2.Smithsonian--127 E-5 (1930-1931) 1855, 1856 SF26 Uru SF26

Campagn-
Chipaya

/392 cont./

955 956 [57] These civilities were of the usual type, i.e., they were carried out by bending the knee before the person honored and simulating an embrace.

[57] Two dishes of meat were then carried in, signaling the beginning of the feast which the patient offered his doctor and his relatives, doubtless to repay them for their trouble.

The magician, who up to now had preserved a serious and imperturbable expression, appeared afterward in a more cheerful mood and with a smile on his lips accepted the cups of alcohol and the dishes which his client, full of gratitude, offered him.

955 [123] [58] However great the respect of the sick man for his healer was and the impression caused by the ceremony, the patient did not consider it superfluous to question me on his case and took the laxative I administered to him with gratitude. He had great need of it, all the more so since, to celebrate his return to health and the beneficent treatment of which he had been the subject, he ingurgitated a remarkable portion of the sacrificed sheep and washed down this feast with impressive bumpers of alcohol. I still do not know how this unfortunate man was able to endure these new excesses. He got well nevertheless, and this complicated ceremony seems at least to have had the positive result of actually [123] transforming his department. Up to this point I had had an enemy in him who had picked quarrels with me on every occasion; each time that I met him after this, he astonished me by his friendliness and courtesy.

I only wish that this good disposition had lasted as long as the memory of his experience.

Funeral rites.

964 [62] In the course of the weeks spent in Chipaya only one death occurred in the village, that of a woman who had committed suicide for obscure reasons, probably out of resentment against her husband. Arriving at the spot shortly after the event, I did not notice any behavior among those present which could be interpreted as ritual.

Reference--120 E-5 (1930-1931) 1934, 1938 NPSR Use Only
Carnegie-
Chipaya

/1931/

The dead woman's husband and her sisters just barely and only at long intervals gave way to a few quickly stifled sobs.

The body was carefully done up in an aksu (1), and only the

1. Cloth which the women wear around their bodies by way of a tunic.

face remained uncovered until evening, when one of the corners of the cloth which enveloped her was pulled over it and a rope was placed crosswise on it. The husband, who was not worth a sou, displayed profound anguish at the thought of not being able to build a sonke. When I gave him something to buy cigarettes, coca, and alcohol, he thanked me and seemed as if relieved of a great anxiety. He shut himself in his hut with his brother and another Indian, probably a relative. The close relatives of the woman from both sides against the widower, whom they continued to suspect of a crime, stayed at home. Between the threshold and the corpse no sun spike had been planted and a small tallow lamp was burning beside the body. The husband and his two companions, squatting at the dead woman's feet, smoked and drank with complete serenity of soul. The first, however, interrupted his bumpers of eau-de-vie from time to time with little attacks of tears, of short duration nonetheless. He likewise addressed the customary reproaches to the dead woman in a tone lacking in conviction. "Why hast thou left, why hast thou left me, when will we meet again?" At a particular moment he placed on his wife's feet a bowl full of alcohol, which he set fire to as well as to some coca leaves.

At dawn a large number of the women of the clan came and squatted in the house. They remained there a long time, immobile and silent. Toward ten o'clock in the morning the corpse was carried to the cemetery and buried with a little food, coca, and alcohol. The dead woman's spindle was buried with her, and the pots and bowls which she used were broken and thrown into the fire

Intelligence, character, and morality

Every consideration of the character of a human group, no matter how small, demands closer contact with the individuals than that which I was able to maintain with the Cipaya. The impossibility which I experienced in most cases of being able to communicate directly with them especially was an obstacle to my observations. The judgment that I make of the Cipaya is hence necessarily summary and without scientific grounds. The Cipaya inspired in me more disgust and antipathy than pity. Neither by their physique nor by their disposition did they show the affection which the ethnographer [265] from professional habit would be prone to offer them. Their features are heavy and thick, and only a few individuals, products of mixtures with their neighbors the Aymara, present the handsome profile with the curved nose characteristic of the composing race of the Bolivian Altiplano. Their short and thick-set body is made even heavier by the thick woolen clothing with which they cover themselves. Only their slender, well-formed legs are pretty to see when crossing a river. Their complexion would not be so dark if they would consent at least once in their lives to wash. The filth and the rags which cover them accentuate even more the wretched and miserable appearance of this group of human beings.

Intellectually the Cipaya are on a rather low level: they have a dull and narrow mind and visibly feel an aversion to any coherent mental effort. Without fantasy and without imagination, they have for their total literature only a few insipid and short tales, which anyway seem to be Aymara in origin. Some women are an exception to this rule and struck me by a certain vivacity in their character and intelligence. Two or three young people also appeared better endowed than the average member of the tribe.

The Cipaya nourishes no ambition, and the desire for any worldly gain cannot draw him out of his apathy. His movements are slow and measured, his ability to remain motionless is without limits. He seems to pursue constantly an internal dream which is always the

[illegible]

[illegible] Coverage-
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Sundays and always overwhelm the village. The children [illegible] themselves there in this general rollicksome: they never have fun, or so to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their dowry with a vague eye or stay squatting on their hut chewing coca or doing nothing. The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material to occupy their leisure time by looking for lice on each other or by having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

The Chipaya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mistrust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not at all grasping and stubborn as the latter. The Chipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians on the altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of strangers. They know how to appreciate well-being, and my relations with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty [illegible] only two Chipaya, who, in the middle of a festival incited me [illegible] blatantly. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by their peers. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they [illegible] forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Chipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents of small cheese which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent devil. No Indian dared to sell me the objects which I acquired for my collection: in broad daylight all feared the unkind comments [illegible]

[illegible] the village of Tiahuanaco, [illegible]
is positioned, like our temples in the Far East, by a
guardian god in the form of one of the monolithic
idols from Tiahuanaco. The early paintings in their
charming frames are in bad condition and some
much-vandal repairs were proceeding on the roof;
there is an embossed silver altar as we find them
even in small villages in the highlands of Bolivia,
and a rather decayed but well-proportioned gilded
baroque pulpit. As we were about to leave, an Indian
woman entered. She held in one hand her bowler
hat and in the other a bottle of alcohol. Having made
a deep genuflection she presented the bottle to a stat-
ue of the Virgin, crossed herself, kissed her thumb,
and was gone.

We followed the road towards the lake till we came
to a cart track which seemed to run parallel with the
Desaguadero river as it flows out of the lake. After
a short distance the track ended. The professor said:
"We just go straight ahead keeping the river in
sight". The ground was strewn with boulders and
clumps of spiky grass, the two cars heaved and
rolled; finally we disembarked the photographic ma-
terial and followed on foot, the professor like the
Pied Piper leading the procession. The cinema ma-
terial represented a considerable weight which at
that height seemed twice as heavy. For two hours
we gasped and stumbled along; finally nearing the
river we heard a dog barking and saw a small adobe
house inhabited by a raucous bad-tempered woman
of uncertain age who sent us to the devil. We panted
up a little hill, and on the other side there appeared
a number of small adobe houses. The professor was
still in full cry, striding ahead heedless of the pant-
ing group in the rear. But finally realizing that there
is a limit to human endurance, he gave way grace-
fully, and we had lunch. The meal being dispatched,
we approached the village, where Vellard called on
the mayor, and, accompanied by a number of the
inhabitants, joined us. He explained that we must
go to the house of the local centenarian, where we
should film her, her daughter Jesusa and her son-

[i.e., the village of Tiahuanaco --Analyst]

[p. 309-A]

B.Mus T-S (pa.1894) 1901
BMA Uru BMA
Iru 2 c.

ably to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house, fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waved my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Rojas and Rosa, not having sleeping-bags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies.

Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty *pampa*, the hut was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or great-coats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and heat this beef over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing to make one from". The only combustible in use on the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta* [4]). This latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had retired for the night at sundown, we decided to

NOTICE TO OUR RESPECTIVE BURGLERS.

[4]) Yareta, a fungus which grows just under the earth and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up and dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[p. 318-A]

B.Geog. T-1 (ca. 1934) 1855

BPM Uty BPM
T-n. 27w

tightening the braids with little wooden knobs, taking care that the two parallel cylinders have exactly the same size and weight, so that the balsa will not capsize. Herein lies the art of balsa-building. While the construction is in progress, a third man wastes the cylinders, so that the reed remains slightly damp. For hours on end they tighten the cords, and with a little stone hammer they tap the braids together so that they end by forming a substance hard as wood. The balsa is then turned over, the two pointed ends are placed in holes in the ground, and earth is tightly packed around them, so that they may keep their form. Here they remain for several days, afterwards they are taken out, and a hole is made in which the mast is placed, and the reed sail is attached to it by three cords. In the very small balsa the fishermen holds a stick to which a little sail is attached. The large balsas measure between twenty-one and twenty-five feet. They draw about forty cms. of water and can carry from eight to ten passengers. The small balsa is about seven feet long and carries two passengers. When not using a sail, they employ a long double paddle, or a punt-pole when circulating among the rushes. The life of the balsa is short: they are built in three or four days, but they are rarely deemed safe for use on the lake, where storms are frequent for more than six months in the year. Generally they end their days as punts which keep to the edge of the lake among the rushes.

The cameras were set up, and I took photographs and then wandered up the river, where suddenly I perceived the raucous lady, who was if possible even more insulting than on the previous day. Seeing the camera, which she doubtless took for the eye of Satan, she flung a stone which missed me by yards, and, uttering more curses, fled, making the sign of the cross and at the same time keeping her fingers crossed, so as to be well on the safe side with all the forces of the supernatural. We had by now filmed and photographed the population from almost every

[p. 313-B]

G.Fr.Gr. T-5 (ca.1944) 1855

DF56 Ur4 DF94
F-c 27c

night. The professor was taking chest- and head-measurements and making notes. We hastened, giving the remains to the children, who looked somewhat suspiciously at cold ham, tomatoes and cake, and hid it away in their skirts. As we reached the car, we saw a thin column of smoke, and, sure enough, the village cooking fire was alight. Owing to the poverty of the village, they have only enough fuel to light about one fire every day or every two days. Two girls in scarlet skirts, little cotton jackets which had once been pink, and dusty battered bowler hats, crouching on all fours, played the part of bellows. The youngest, remarkably pretty and remarkably dirty, ran into the house and emerged dragging a large iron pot. My thirst for ethnology was satiated and I felt sure that Velluet had already gone into the question of Ur-s cooking, and that further

[p. 314-A]